

SPECIAL REPORT



Tubman Assumes Pan-African Role

(See Page 2)

ABOVE: President Tubman welcomes Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana to July Conference in Liberia. Guinea President Toure looks on at left.

BELOW: The Liberian President (center) with Eastern Nigeria's Premier Azikiwe (left) and Premier Sir Milton Margai of Sierra Leone. The three leaders met during Tubman's State visit to Sierra Leone in June.



The Devlin Report—See Page 7.

African States Unite on Algeria

MEMBER STATES of the "African bloc" rallied behind Algerian nationalists this month in a special five-day meeting at Monrovia, Liberia.

The officially-sponsored Monrovia Conference was the latest in a series of history-making political and diplomatic meetings held by Africans on African soil over the past 18 months, all of them designed broadly to foster African unity, spur on the independence drive and make the African voice heard in international councils. Specifically, the August meeting was called to formulate joint African policies on Algeria, "mobilize Africans" in support of the Algerian nationalists, and take steps to halt the war which is widely regarded as one of the factors poisoning relationships between Africa and the Western world.

Senior representatives of Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic and the provisional rebel government of Algeria met in the Liberian capital August 4-8. In their final resolution they called on France to recognize the right of the Algerian people to independence, withdraw her troops and negotiate with the rebel government to bring the nearly five-year-old war to an end.

The conference also appealed to members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to urge France to desist from using NATO arms in Algeria. Another key resolution asked African nations to give "material aid" to the rebel government, and it was later reported that rebel missions would tour African capitals this autumn to discuss what assistance is to be given. The conference also declared its support for African self-determination in trouble-ridden Nyasaland and reaffirmed African demands that the United Nations hold a plebiscite in the French-administered Cameroons before the trust territory reaches independence next January 1.

The Monrovia meeting was timed to precede the September opening of the United Nations General Assembly,



ALGERIAN delegate M'Hammed Yazid, Minister of Information in the rebel Algerian Government, addresses a conference session.

where the Algerian war promises to become the biggest issue of the session.

Tubman's Prestige Mounts

The conference in the Liberian capital came only three weeks after another significant meeting in Liberia, the "summit" conference between Liberia's President Tubman, Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana and President Toure of Guinea, at which the three leaders hammered out a plan for a future African Community.

One of the immediate results of the two conferences has been to enhance profoundly the prestige and stature of President Tubman as a leading figure in the emergent Africa of the present decade. A descendant of Liberia's Negro colonists, the 65-year-old Tubman was holding a public office when Nkrumah and Toure were babes, but until lately he appeared to stand aloof from many of the Pan-African currents sweeping the continent.

The July meeting with the Ghana and Guinea leaders at Sanniquellie in the Liberian interior marked a turning point. President Tubman's African unity proposals prevailed over those of Dr. Nkrumah, and the latter reportedly left Sanniquellie with an enhanced respect for the elder Liberian's views on African affairs. This month, with nine African national flags flying over the Monrovia Capitol alongside a big green and white ban-

ner of the rebel Algerian government, Tubman's poised entry into the Pan-African scene was complete.

Recognition Issue Pressed

President Tubman opened the August Monrovia meeting with a welcoming address in which he termed the Algerian fighting "a threat to world peace." He called on the conference to develop a formula for negotiating a peaceful settlement of the conflict, and urged "some easing of the extreme positions on both sides."

Liberia, he added, does not believe "that en bloc recognition or non-recognition of the provisional government will resolve the Algerian question." As the conference progressed, however, the pressure for Liberian recognition of the rebel government mounted, and there was speculation that Liberia might eventually yield on this issue. As it was, Liberia made a strong gesture in holding the conference, and in consenting to the seating of Algeria's Minister of Information M'Hammed Yazid at the horse-shoe shaped table, where he spoke as a full delegate.

As the conference opened, recognition had already been granted by Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, the United Arab Republic, Ghana and the Sudan. On the second day, Guinea's representative, Minister of Works Ismael Toure, brother of President Sekou Toure, announced ingenuously that his country saw no need to go through the formalities of recognition, since the rebel regime was in existence before Guinea became a state, but he said there would be an exchange of ambassadors. With this diplomatic footwork, he appeared to have outmaneuvered the French on their threat, denounced by President Tubman and everyone else at the conference, to sever relations with any country which extended recognition to the provisional regime.

A remaining holdout on the recognition issue is Ethiopia, and a final decision was not expected until the return of Emperor Haile Selassie from his extended tour of the Soviet Union, Europe and the Middle East.

Protest on Atomic Tests

In addition to bringing together North Africa and Africa South of the Sahara on the Algerian issue, the conference was unanimous in protesting, "with the greatest indignation", the announced French atomic tests in the Sahara. Significantly, the French Embassy in Monrovia replied with a conciliatory statement, pointing out that all precautions would be taken with the tests to insure the African people would be in no danger. The reply seemed to show a new degree of respect for the Afri-

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can states, in contrast to the disdainful annoyance with which France has seemed to greet previous protests over the proposed Sahara tests.

A number of issues were discussed by the conference in closed committee sessions—from the perennial matter of South West Africa to the recent disturbance in Nyasaland. Although no South West African petitioner appeared before it, the conference appealed to the UN to fix a date for the independence of the territory. Nyasaland was eloquently represented by Mr. Kanyama Chiume, a member of Nyasaland's African Congress and its exiled Publicity Secretary.

One of the most controversial issues tackled in committee was the Cameroons question. The Guineans strongly supported the views of Dr. Felix Moumie, President of the banned *Union des Populations Camerounaises* (UPC), who has now taken up residence in Conakry, and who wants UN-sponsored elections in the Cameroons prior to the scheduled January first independence date. Some of the other delegates felt there was too short a time to organize elections even if the UN would agree. The long debates led to a compromise: an African good offices mission will shortly be sent to meet Cameroonian Prime Minister Ahidjo, who sent no representative to the conference, and his UPC opposition. Failing this, the African Group will again bring the matter before the UN General Assembly.

U.S. Sends Greetings

Two other petitioners appeared before the Committee: Joshua Nkomo, President of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, who was outside his country when other nationalist leaders were recently arrested; and John Kale, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Uganda National Congress. Other interested observers came from the African autonomous republics of the French Community and plied the delegates with their views in private. They seemed to be biding their time—with only Guinea to speak for them at the moment. The issue of 'independence' versus 'community' in French-speaking Africa was boiling beneath the surface, but was not officially considered by the conferees.

The African Personality was abroad at the conference, and, of course, British and French colonialism came in for attack. The United Arab Republic was particularly virulent on this score. But the United States received some favorable comment in private. The message of Acting Secretary of State C. Douglas Dillon was welcomed, although the opposition of one state—the conference operated on the unanimity principle—reportedly prevented a return message of thanks. A second telegram from the States—thorough-going support for Algeria's right to independence from sixteen Congressional leaders—was even more warmly felt.



HUDDLE takes place between Foreign Minister Soddok Makkadim of Tunisia (seated), Ambassador to the United States Telli Diallo of Guinea, Tunisian UN representative Mahmoud Mestiri and Guinea Minister of Public Works Ismael Toure. Man at left is not identified.

While the earlier Sanniquellie meeting also dealt with points of controversy between Africa and Europe, it was concerned primarily with the pattern of future relations between the African states themselves.

Compromise at Sanniquellie

West Africa's three independent states, Ghana, Guinea and Liberia, pledged themselves at Sanniquellie to work together for the formation of a "Community of Independent African States." At the insistence of President Tubman, however, the three states agreed not to act on their own but to wait until other West African countries are in a position to take part in the deliberations. It was agreed to hold another conference as soon as possible after Nigeria, Togoland and the Cameroons attain their independence in 1960.

The decision to await the participation of these about-to-be-born nations appeared to signal a victory for President Tubman's more cautious—and probably more widely acceptable—

approach to African unity over the plan for immediate action to which Prime Minister Nkrumah had publicly committed himself when the conference began.

'Team' Spirit Seen

Whatever their initial differences, however, observers at the Sanniquellie meeting reported that the three leaders had achieved a visible spirit of cooperation and understanding as the sessions ended, and were clearly determined to work as a team from now on.

Ghana Foreign Minister Ako Adjei announced that the Ghana-Guinea Union will remain, and that the special fraternal relations between the two countries will continue as they have in the past. He explained to newsmen, however, that the general aspects of the Ghana-Guinea declarations, as well as the plan for African Union formulated by Nkrumah and Toure at a meeting in May, are now merged with the new idea of a Community of Independent African States.

One implication of the Sanniquellie meeting is that a grouping of sovereign partners seems to be the order of the day in West Africa, rather than real constitutional mergers, at least for the immediate future. However, there was some give and take on this score; the proposed Community seems to be more tightly knit than President Tubman's original conception of an "association", and it was agreed that its members would determine their actions in relations to the "essential objectives of freedom, independence and unity of the African personality."

The principles agreed upon by the leaders of Ghana, Guinea and Liberia were as follows:

1. The name of the organization shall be the "Community of Independent African States".
2. Africans, like all other peoples, have the inherent right to inde-



SIGN outside Monrovia Capitol building, site of conference.



AFRICAN UNITY—Residents of Sudanese Republic celebrate their country's union with neighboring Senegal, forming new Mali Federation. Dancers carry Mali flag.

pendence and self-determination to decide the form of government under which they desire to live.

3. Each state or federation which is a member of the Community shall maintain its own national identity and constitutional structure. While the Community is being formed with a view to achieving unity among independent African states, it is not designed to prejudice the present or future international policies, relations and obligations of the states involved.

4. Each member of the Community accepts the principle that it shall not interfere in the internal affairs of any other member.

5. The acts of states or federations which are members of the Community shall be determined in relation to the essential objectives of freedom, in-

dependence and unity of the African personality.

6. The general policy of the Community shall be to build up a prosperous African unity for the benefit of its peoples and the peoples of the world and in the interests of international peace and security.

This policy shall be based on equality and reciprocity with all the states of the world which adopt a position compatible with African interests and African dignity. Its main objective will be to help other African territories subjected to domination with a view to accelerating the end of their non-independent status.

7. The Community shall set up an Economic Council, a Cultural Council and a Scientific and Research Council.

8. Membership of the Community

shall be open to all independent African states and federations and any non-independent country of Africa shall have the right to join the Community upon attainment of independence.

9. The Community shall have a flag and an anthem to be agreed upon at a later date.

10. The motto of the Community shall be "Independence and Unity".

Heintzen, McGavren Join Institute Staff

Harry L. Heintzen has joined the African-American Institute as Staff Associate in charge of Teacher Placement and Student Assistance. A graduate of Tulane University where he earned a B.A. and M.A. in English literature, Mr. Heintzen was on the staff of the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* and for two years was Scandinavian correspondent for the New York *Herald Tribune's* news service, based in Stockholm. He was awarded the Carnegie Foreign Correspondent Fellowship by the Council on Foreign Relations, of New York, which enabled him to do African research and graduate work in international relations at the Council and at Columbia University. Following this he was awarded a Ford Foundation grant that included one year in French Africa, during which time he was a *Time-Life* correspondent.

In another appointment, Bruce H. McGavren joined the African-American Institute as Staff Associate in charge of business administration. Mr. McGavren received his B.A. from the University of California at Berkeley and completed a business course at the American Institute for Foreign Trade at Phoenix, Arizona. He was with the Texaco Co. for two years in New York and Nigeria.

Delegates Welcome U.S. Message

A personal message from Acting U.S. Secretary of State C. Douglas Dillon to President Tubman of Liberia drew favorable comment from delegates at this month's conference in Monrovia.

The message read as follows:

"Dear Mr. President:

"Please accept my best wishes for the success of the Conference of Independent African States now convening in Monrovia. Although the representatives of the independent African states are confronted with extremely serious and difficult problems, they are presented with a unique opportunity for a major contribution to the cause of harmony and understanding among nations.

"Permit me to assure you, Mr. President, and through you, the representatives of the other independent African states, of the sympathetic support of the United States for the legitimate aspirations of the people of Africa. We offer our understanding support in the great task

of realizing Africa's potential in a manner which will benefit all concerned. We seek friendly relations and mutual cooperation with the people of Africa."

A *Chicago Daily News* correspondent reported these reactions from two conference participants, and said they were echoed by a majority of the delegates:

Foreign Minister Ako Adjei of Ghana: "For us the significance of this message is that it was addressed to a conference specifically and officially convened to discuss ways and means of helping the Algerian people in their fight for independence."

Prime Minister Abdullah Ibrahim of Morocco: "Dillon's message is of particular interest in that it indicates a new American awareness of the growing importance of America's independent role in international affairs.

"To the extent that the United States will base its actions on the realities of Africa today, a solid foundation for African-American friendship will be built."

NEWS ROUNDUP

SOUTH AFRICA: NEW RIOTS SWEEP NATAL; MAJOR SPLIT ROCKS OPPOSITION PARTY

Racially-tense Natal Province in South Africa, scene of the violent Durban riots in June, this month witnessed a wave of new disturbances.

Defiant African women, protesting against Government restrictions, sparked off rioting over a large area around Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Armored police broke up mobs of over 1,000 demonstrating at Ixopo and Port Shepstone. Shouting crowds set fires and tried to storm a jail in a march on the farming community of Harding. Elsewhere the rioters cut telephone lines, blocked roads, commandeered busses, burned schools and stoned European cars. Two Africans and two Europeans were reported killed. White residents called for Government protection against what they described as a "rebellion".

The African women protested against Government taxes and restrictions which they said were cutting into their family livelihood. It was claimed that restrictions curtailing African entry into cities and towns were forcing their husbands to become "cheap labor" on European farms. Government spokesmen said the laws were necessitated by declining migrant labor demands in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, and claimed that "ringleaders of the African National Congress" were behind the disturbances.

Meanwhile, eleven members of Parliament in the opposition United Party broke away from the party this month in an open split which some observers felt might presage a realignment of white political forces in South Africa. The break-away group is identified with the progressive wing of the party.

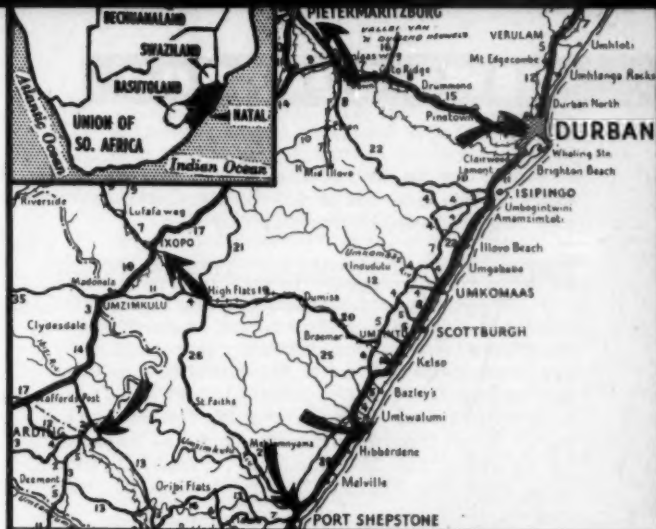
MORE POLITICAL FREEDOM FOR KENYA AFRICANS

The Kenya Government has announced three major concessions in recent weeks affecting African political development:

The formation of African political associations, permitted only on a district basis since the beginning of the Mau Mau emergency, will henceforth be allowed on a constituency basis in 13 of Kenya's 14 constituencies. (Political organization will, for the time being, remain on a district basis in Central Province).

Members of the Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru tribes, whose political participation has been closely circumscribed since the beginning of the emergency, will not be required to present loyalty certificates to qualify for registration as voters in the next election.

The government is now prepared to approve the formation of "non-racial" political parties on a national basis, subject to the condition that they "pursue a legitimate end by legitimate and responsible methods." (Na-



MAP SHOWS AREA OF SOUTH AFRICA DISTURBANCES

tion-wide political parties involving Africans have heretofore been illegal in Kenya).

The latter announcement was, in effect, an affirmative response to the announcement of the formation of the new Kenya National Party, established on July 24 by ten of the fourteen Africans on the Legislative Council in cooperation with six Asian and one European LEGCO members. Notable absentees from the new party are Tom Mboya, president of the Nairobi People's Convention Party; Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, the leading Kikuyu politician; and Oginga Odinga, chairman of the African elected members.

Meanwhile, the Colonial Office this month announced the appointment of Prof. W.J.M. Mackenzie, Professor of Government at Manchester University, as special adviser for the Kenya constitutional conference scheduled for early 1960.

EARLIEST TRACE OF MAN UNEARTHED IN TANGANYIKA

Human fossils about 600,000 years old -- possibly the earliest known trace of man -- were found in the Olduvai Gorge area of north-central Tanganyika July 17. Renowned British anthropologist Louis Leakey reported the find made by his wife to a congress on African prehistory, meeting this month in Leopoldville, Belgian Congo.

NEW OPPOSITION LEADER FOR GHANA PARLIAMENT

Mr. S.D. Dombo has been chosen parliamentary leader of Ghana's opposition United Party to replace Dr. Kofi A. Busia. In announcing the new change, the party national executive reiterated that Dr. Busia remains head of the party despite his absence from the country and the consequent loss of his seat in parliament. Dr. Busia forfeited his seat under the National Assembly (Disqualification) Act by which a member is automatically dropped from the Assembly if he absents himself from 20 meetings without the Speaker's permission. Dr. Busia left Ghana last June for Europe and subsequently has said that if he returns to Ghana

NEWS ROUNDUP

he believes he would be arrested. A by-election to replace Busia in the National Assembly has been scheduled for October 6.

COPPER GROUPS END POLITICAL TIES IN RHODESIA

The two great Copperbelt mining groups, Rhodesian Selection Trust and Anglo-American, have confirmed a persistent rumor that they are ending their financial backing for Sir Roy Welensky's United Federal Party. The heavy financial loss to the United Federal Party is estimated by sources in Salisbury to be about \$11,200 annually. Reports indicate that the British South African Co. may follow suit.

QUEEN NAMES NKURUMAH TO PRIVY COUNCIL

Queen Elizabeth on August 12 invited Ghana Premier Kwame Nkrumah to become the first African member of her select Privy Council of highly-placed political and scholarly advisers. The announcement was made in the course of Dr. Nkrumah's visit with the royal family at Balmoral Castle in Scotland, which -- in view of the impending arrival of Queen Elizabeth's third child -- replaced the long-planned royal tour of Ghana projected for this November.

Dr. Nkrumah, reportedly the first outsider to be told of the Queen's pregnancy, said that he "enjoyed keeping the secret" and that it was both his and the Queen's hope that new plans could be made for a royal visit to Ghana as soon as Queen Elizabeth is able to undertake such a trip.

AUTHORITIES CRACK DOWN IN SEVERAL AREAS

Authorities in several African states this month took direct action to curb anti-government activity:

- Kanyama Chiume, publicity secretary of the Nyasaland African Congress and member of the Nyasaland Legislative Council, has been declared a prohibited immigrant by Northern Rhodesia.

- Ronald Segal, editor of the quarterly review Africa South, was served with a notice on July 25 in Cape Town banning him from attending any gathering in South Africa for five years. Mr. Segal recently had his passport seized shortly before a planned visit abroad, and is also being prosecuted for being in a native residential area without a permit.

- Flax Msopoli, Nyasaland nationalist leader sought by the Blantyre authorities since March 3, was arrested in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, on August 7 on charges of arson, assault, theft, and rioting. He had escaped the government's dragnet during the March emergency.

- The Reverend Tom Colvin, Church of Scotland missionary banned by the Federal Government in June from re-entering Nyasaland, has

been given a vote of "fullest confidence" by the Church of Scotland foreign mission committee. "Contrary to statements which have appeared in various places," the committee's secretary wrote from Edinburgh, "we know he has no allegiance, political or otherwise, which conflicts with the full Christian faith."

- Twenty-five African women were sentenced in Durban, South Africa, on July 26 to three months imprisonment, plus three months suspended sentence, on charges of public violence arising from the June beer hall riots in Durban. Bail was set at \$70 each.

- Joseph W. Kiwanuka, chairman of the Uganda National Congress, had his passport withdrawn on August 4 upon his return from a visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.

OPPOSITION LEADER RELEASED IN CONGO REPUBLIC

Jacques Opangault, leader of the Congo Republic's principal opposition party, the African Socialist Movement, was one of 36 political detainees released from jail in July under a new amnesty law voted by the Legislative Assembly in Brazzaville. Mr. Opangault had been imprisoned since February for his leadership of riots protesting the government's failure to call a general election at that time.

UGANDA MOVEMENT CHANGES NAME AGAIN

The Uganda Freedom Union is the new name of the anti-government nationalist organization which Uganda authorities have been attempting to suppress since it launched a boycott of non-African goods in May. (The government charges that the boycott is enforced largely by intimidation and is seriously damaging the country's economy.)

The original name of the organization -- the Uganda Freedom Movement -- has been changed three times in response to the letter, but not the spirit, of government bans against the party's activities.

SEVEN CONDEMNED TO DEATH IN FRENCH CAMEROONS

Seven persons in the French Cameroons were sentenced to death on August 2 for taking part in anti-government raids, which officials describe as the work of a "vast terrorist organization" tied to the outlawed Union des Populations du Cameroun. Five of the sentences were made in absentia. Criminal courts with the power to impose capital punishment have begun hearings for some 100 other Africans accused of terrorism during the current wave of political violence.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULED FOR GUINEA

The next session of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference will be held in Guinea in January 1960.



SIR PATRICK DEVLIN

BIS

The British protectorate of Nyasaland, populated by nearly 3,000,000 Africans and less than 20,000 Asians and Europeans, is a dusty tropical land of low-lying mountains, bordering on a 320 mile sliver of lake in Central Africa. It is one of Africa's most beautiful countries, and lately one of the most troubled. On March 3, in the face of mounting disorder attributed to activities of the African National Congress, the British Governor declared a state of emergency and ordered the arrest of key African leaders. Within hours, 26 Africans died as security forces opened fire to disperse angry crowds protesting the arrests, and the African death toll subsequently rose to 51. In April, a four-member commission headed by High Court Justice Patrick Devlin was dispatched from London "to inquire into the recent disturbances in Nyasaland and the events leading up to them, and to report thereon." Meanwhile, preliminary discussions got underway in London and Salisbury on the 1960 constitutional talks, which are to chart the future relationships between Nyasaland and Northern and Southern Rhodesia, bound together since 1953 in a semi-autonomous, European-controlled federation. Because the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland looms as the meeting point between white power and black power in Africa, the 1960 conference will be of critical proportions. "There is at stake," said Britain's Commonwealth Relations Secretary Lord Home, "the future of harmonious race relations in Africa and the peace of a continent." On these pages, Africa Special Report presents highlights of the recently released Devlin report and the latest developments relating to the constitutional talks.

Buried But Not Dead:

THE DEVLIN REPORT

By HELEN KITCHEN

THE BRITISH Parliament's Conservative majority has formally buried the Devlin Commission's critical report on the March 1959 Nyasaland crisis in an adroit parliamentary motion noting approvingly only those of the Commission's views favorable to the government and ignoring the politically-dangerous conclusions. A Labor-Liberal motion approving the entire Report—in effect, a motion of censure against governmental policy—was defeated on July 28 by a largely party-line vote of 317 to 254.

But there is little doubt that the explosive judgments meted out by Justice Devlin and his colleagues will remain a very lively force on the British and African political scene for many months to come and will play a commanding role in the projected 1960 review of the Federation Constitution.

The Report appears to have dashed whatever hopes Sir Roy Welensky's followers still held for a grant of dominion status to the Federation at next year's conference. In the weeks

since publication, the conservative press has begun quietly to play down the "notion" that Dominion status was ever seriously contemplated at this stage, and Prime Minister Macmillan confirmed in Commons that next year's conference will impose no drastic changes on Central African political organization.

Three-Stage Response

The Government's reactions to the Devlin findings has come in three stages: (1) public repudiation and self-justification; (2) parliamentary indifference; and (3) behind-the-scenes policy changes responsive to the very points disputed in public. This is an election year in Britain, rendering it politically perilous for Prime Minister Macmillan to disown his controversial Colonial Secretary or Nyasaland's Governor, Sir Robert Armitage, whose policies are brought into very serious doubt by the Devlin findings and whose resignations have been loudly demanded by the Labor opposition. Nevertheless, a thorough review is

clearly being made of Central African policies, and the Devlin Report is the handbook.

Initially, through a decidedly unrepentant 16-page dispatch from Nyasaland's Governor Armitage, reportedly written with the assistance of Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd and the Colonial Office staff, the critical findings of the Commission are hotly denied. Armitage records his satisfaction with those two conclusions of the Commission which, he infers, "fully vindicate" the policies and actions of his government—first, that the situation existing by 3rd March required that the Government had either to act or to abdicate; and secondly, that the situation had become acute because of the adoption of increasingly violent policies by the Nyasaland African Congress.

Self-Righteous Replies

But the Governor testily denies that Nyasaland is a police state; disagrees firmly with the Commission's tolerant views of Dr. Banda's role; attacks

Major Conclusions of the Nyasaland

These were the major conclusions reached unanimously by the four members of the Devlin Commission, based on the evidence of 455 individual witnesses, 1300 witnesses in groups, and material received in 585 memoranda:

On Political Conditions in Nyasaland:

Nyasaland is—no doubt only temporarily—a police state, where it is not safe for anyone to express approval of the policies of the Congress Party, to which, before March 3, 1959, the vast majority of politically-minded Africans belonged, and where it is "unwise to express any but the most restrained criticism of Government policy."

On the Alleged "Murder Plot":

At the African National Congress meeting of January 25 (cited by the Government as the occasion on which a plot was conceived to murder systematically Europeans), "there was talk of beating and killing" in the event Dr. Banda should be arrested, "but not of cold-blooded assassination or massacre." The meeting is described as a very informal affair, at which several people often talked simultaneously and from which all that emerged was a determination that, if Dr. Banda were arrested, "breaches of the law were to be committed and that attempts by the government to enforce it would be resisted with violence." The Devlin Group comments that the Government's conviction that there was a plot was based largely on the report of one informer, whose interview with the Commission was unconvincing.

the Commission's rejection of the "murder plot" as a hair-splitting distinction without a difference; accuses the Commission of expecting troops and police to take impossible risks by withholding fire; and defends the widespread confiscation of farm implements, criticized by the Devlin group, as justified "if there was a risk that implements . . . would be used against the security forces, or to threaten peaceful inhabitants."

The unofficial line in the Federation itself was also entirely one of self-justification. The report, it was said, was largely naive, but those few passages which were valid "debunked the Labor Party's three pet theories about Nyasaland—that Congress wasn't committed to a policy of violence; that the emergency wasn't necessary; and that Sir Roy Welensky forced Sir Robert Armitage's hand." "Now that he knows the truth," the *Central African Examiner* wrote in its self-righteous August 1 issue, "Mr. Gait-skell could prove himself a true friend of Nyasaland if he looked for some new colonial policy advisers. He is scarcely in a position to demand other people's scalps."

Thus, the Commission's findings—designed to give a fresh and impartial perspective on Central Africa's policy needs—would seem, on the sur-

face at least, to have served only to harden previously-held views. (At the other end of the spectrum, Dr. Hastings Banda, interviewed in jail in Gwelo, took a page from the Government's book, ignored the Commission's criticism of his failure to ride herd on the lower echelons of his party, and commented optimistically that he "never had the slightest doubt" he would be vindicated. Observed the depressed London *Economist*: "Everybody is picking out of it fresh evidence to bolster his own case and quoting scripture against his opponents . . .")

Sidestepping in Commons

When the Devlin Report came up for debate in the House of Commons, the Government's tactics changed abruptly from one of angry rebuttal to laconic indifference. Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd, looking more relaxed than is even his normal wont, rose slowly to his feet to answer Labor's charges, sidestepped the Opposition's efforts to get a Government commitment pro or con on the controversial aspects of the Report, and kept the discussion on superficialities. The Labor motion accepting the explosive Report as a whole—and thus its implications for sweeping policy changes—was soundly defeated,

On the State of Emergency:

The Commission considers that, owing in considerable extent to governmental policies denying members of the African Congress any real constitutional outlets, the Congress had increasingly turned to illegal tactics and by 1958 the gulf between the Government and Congress was unbridgeable. By March 3rd, 1959, the situation had so deteriorated that the Government had "either to act or to abdicate." In this situation, the resort to emergency powers was inevitable.

On Police Methods:

"Unnecessary and illegal force was used in making the arrests of members of the African National Congress; illegal measures of restraint were also employed." (But, the Commission muses, "did the ordinary European policeman . . . think that on the morning of March 3 he was arresting the potential murderers of his wife and children? If so, that fact might offer an explanation, if not an excuse, for some of the incidents.")

On Dr. Banda:

The arrival of Dr. Banda in Nyasaland in July 1958 did not bring about any fundamental change: "It speeded the tempo but it did not decisively alter the character of events thereafter." None of Dr. Banda's speeches, reviewed in detail, advocated violence; he never spoke at a meeting for which permission had not been granted; and there was repeated evidence of his willingness to compromise. ("The Government contends that . . . Dr. Banda was speaking with two voices and infers that his offers in private discussion to compromise were not made sincerely. We do not draw this

and a substitute Conservative-sponsored motion noting approvingly only certain non-controversial passages was subsequently passed. Only a few Tory M.P.'s with very safe seats ignored the government's call for party solidarity on this tactical maneuver, clearly designed to keep the central African fire from billowing into a major campaign issue in the coming elections. By early August, the prediction in London was that the Macmillan government's tactical play would succeed: the polls still gave the Conservatives a decided edge, and British voters seemed singularly unexcited about the Nyasaland issue.

Concern in Private

The third stage of official reaction to the report is still emerging. But there are increasing signs that the Devlin findings are being taken far more seriously behind closed doors than they are in public, and that Britain's policies in Nyasaland will henceforth take more account of African pressures—though there is most clearly no intention of meeting fully Congress party demands or even of implementing, in the foreseeable future, the implicit Devlin recommendation that the party be legitimized. There would appear, above all, to be

Commission of Inquiry

inference. We think that many politicians who are truly prepared to compromise would still think it necessary, until a settlement was actually secured, to continue mentioning in public their full demands.")

On Banda's Subordinates:

On the other hand, the Commission believes that Dr. Banda was not always aware of what was going on in the middle ranks of his party. Partly this was because he was not facile in local languages, but it was also because the younger and more extremist-minded lieutenants (who had brought him back to Nyasaland for the Messiah role, and who continued to handle the day-to-day work of the party), saw no necessity to tell Dr. Banda everything that was going on. These men—Chipembere, D. K. Chisiza, Chiume, and others—"probably only consulted him when they wanted, for some specific purpose, to invoke his authority and before they did so they probably made sure that the decision would be the one they wanted..." This level had, by 1959, decided that a policy of violence was probably necessary.

On the Extent of Intimidation:

The Government contended that support for Congress had been built up very largely by intimidation, including threats to kill, beat, or burn... "We are satisfied that intimidation was one of the weapons used by Congress, particularly in the case of anyone who joined Congress and then wanted to leave it. It was also used against Africans serving the government... [but] we think the Government exaggerated the extent and effect of intimidation... We do not think that this was a policy deliberately adopted by Congress at the highest level, certainly not by Dr. Banda; but we think that in

this respect, as well as in some others, Dr. Banda elected to disregard the political immaturity of many of his followers."

On Casualties During the Disturbances:

All of the 51 persons killed in the disturbances in Nyasaland earlier this year were Africans. In none of the incidents were the Africans equipped with firearms. They most frequently used roadblocks, stones, sticks, axes, and agricultural implements.

On Nationalism in Nyasaland:

"The Government's view is that... nationalist aspirations are the thoughts of only a small minority of political Africans, mainly of self-seekers... and that the great majority of the people are indifferent to the issue. We have not found this to be so... We do not think that all the Congress leaders have more than the usual share of personal ambition; they are first and foremost fervent African nationalists."

On Opposition to Federation:

"Opposition to Federation was... deeply rooted and almost universally held... Even amongst the chiefs, many of whom are loyal to the Government and dislike Congress methods, we have not heard of a single one who is in favor of Federation."

On the Attitude Toward Britain:

There was little criticism of Britain or of "imperialism"; always federation was the cause of all Nyasaland's troubles. One critic of the Government was so little anti-imperialist in his sentiments that he wound up a denunciation by saying the Governor was "a disgrace to the British Empire."

general recognition that the keystone of Nyasaland policy during the past year or so—to postpone the grant of an African majority in the Legislative Council at least until after the 1960 Constitutional Conference had institutionalized the Federation and Nyasaland's permanent membership in it—was no longer relevant, and had probably been a mistake.* There was now hope, perhaps unconsciously based on the Devlin judgment, that a willingness to compromise could be cultivated among Nyasaland's apparently intransigent Africans, that Federation could be sold if it were tied to the promise of (1) a liberal constitution for Nyasaland based on an early African majority, and (2) elimination of the bugaboo of Dominion status, which Africans have always feared as meaning domination by Southern Rhodesia's conservative settler regime.

While there are no indications—indeed, there have been specific denials from Governor Armitage—that the state of emergency is to be lifted, that the hue and cry for Dr. Banda's early release is to be answered, or that more than a few of the more than 600

Africans still imprisoned on political charges since March are to come to trial soon, the Government has, on other fronts, moved quickly to suggest that Nyasaland's political development is moving in a forward direction with full recognition of African interests:

- On July 21, a few days before publication of the Devlin Report but after it was in Government hands, Prime Minister Macmillan an-

nounced to Parliament the projected appointment of a 26-man Central African Advisory Commission to start work with the five governments involved "in preparation for the 1960 review on the Constitutional program and framework best suited to the achievement of the objects contained in the Constitution of 1953, including the preamble." (The reference to the preamble is especially significant for Africans, since it is here that the British Government pledges not to withdraw its protection from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland without the consent of the inhabitants of those territories.)

- Prime Minister Macmillan told Commons in late July that, while it was not possible in present conditions to hold elections in Nyasaland, it was intended within the next few weeks to increase by nomination the number of African seats on the Legislative Council and to appoint two African members to the Executive Council.

- The London Times, in a lead editorial on July 28, commented that all thought of granting Dominion status to the Federation at the 1960 conference had been abandoned "even if it was ever serious-



—Wide World
DR. HASTINGS BANDA

* The Nyasaland administration feared, probably correctly, that an African majority in LEGCO would pass a resolution calling for the territory's secession from the Federation.

ly held" and that "the realization that Nyasaland must advance as an African state had been generally accepted" by both Sir Roy Welensky and London.

Search for Leadership

The longer-range significance of these new policy turns, calculated to contain African pressures and pressures by others on their behalf, hinges on Britain's ability to find qualified and responsible Africans with whom to deal—a problem complicated by the fact that the leaders proven acceptable to the Nyasaland populace are now in jail.

Both the British Government and Federal Prime Minister Welensky now seem ready to face the prospect of a largely African government in Nyasaland within a few years, but they want it to remain within the Federation and they are far from reconciled to the fact that Dr. Banda is the man to head it, much less any of his lieutenants in the Congress Party.

A search now seems to be on for a non-Congress African leader willing to cooperate with the Federation government and Britain, but sufficiently respected by his fellow Africans to rise to responsible leadership of an effective government. This is rendered especially difficult because there are in Nyasaland today only 22 Africans with University degrees. Of these, 12 are among the Congress leaders imprisoned, including the only African advocate, the only African

Report Available

Copies of the Report of the Nyasaland Commission of Inquiry (Devlin Commission Report) and the Nyasaland Despatch by the Governor relating to the Report are obtainable from British Information Services, Sales Dept., 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y. at the following prices: Devlin Report \$1.26, Governor's Despatch 18¢, postage on both 8¢, a total of \$1.52.

doctor, and the best-trained economist in the country.

Chirwa Considered

According to reports from Blantyre, the most likely prospect being considered for a build-up is Wellington Chirwa, who represented Nyasaland in the federal Parliament before Dr. Banda's boycott of the Federation forced him to resign. As spokesman for the Congress Liberation Party, Mr. Chirwa has urged the British to give Nyasaland self-government with an African majority in the legislature and to get Nyasaland out of the Federation, but there is a general belief that he would compromise on the latter issue. It may also be significant that the August 1 issue of the *Central African Examiner* carries a largely flattering, two-page profile of Mr. Chirwa which emphasizes his quali-

fications for public office and his terms for acceptance of a role in the emerging government—"No African in Nyasaland is better qualified than Chirwa to do an Executive Council job . . . If he were assured that Banda would remain locked up for a reasonable length of time, Chirwa would make a new bid for political power . . ."

The issue of the Nyasaland leadership vacuum also comes up in relation to the soon-to-be-constituted Central African Advisory Commission. Eleven of the members of the Commission will be from the UK (6 Privy Councillors, including three from Opposition parties; and four independent experts in economics, constitutional law, and other relevant fields); 2 from Commonwealth countries "having experience in the working of a federal constitution"; and 13 from Central Africa, of which 5 will be Africans. The five Africans—to be appointed by the UK, not the Federation—will include one from the Federation as a whole, one from Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia respectively, and two from Nyasaland. Finding qualified Africans for the Nyasaland positions poses a unique problem, since there is a proviso that none of them shall be a member of the governments or legislatures concerned, and Mr. Macmillan specifically pointed out that he could not appoint members of unlawful organizations. "That does not," editorialized the *London Times*, "leave a very strong force of well-known Africans to choose from." (The *Times* was also critical of the proposed restriction of British parliamentary members to Privy Counsellors, which automatically excludes James Callaghan, Labor's chief spokesman in colonial affairs, and Jo Grimond, "most obvious Liberal candidate for the commission.")

No Delay in 1960 Talks

Prime Minister Macmillan on July 22 promptly quashed a Labor proposal (echoed by *The Economist*) that the whole business of a review of the Federal Constitution be postponed until 1961 or 1962 in view of the present state of tension. "It has been made perfectly clear to all governments that the review was to take place at the end of next year," the Prime Minister said, "and to postpone it now would arouse the maximum of suspicion with the minimum of advantage." Added the *Central African Examiner*: "To do this is . . . to give those who believe that the Federation is going to be dismembered another one or two years in which to nourish their illusions—which doesn't much matter—and to communicate it to potential investors—which matters a great deal."

What Mr. Macmillan might also have said, but did not, is that the only real hope of restoring respect for British justice in Central Africa is through the 1960 talks. "The results of that conference," editorialized the *Times* on July 28, "will need to be



Nyasaland in relation to Northern and Southern Rhodesia

The Devlin Group: Who Were They?

IN ALL the heated controversy stirred up by the Devlin report, not even the study's most exercised critics have questioned the qualifications or dedicated fairness of the four men responsible—Sir Patrick Arthur Devlin, who at 53 is a High Court Justice and probably the most widely respected jurist in England; Sir John Ure Primrose, former Lord Provost of Perth; Sir Percy Wyn-Harris, former Governor of Gambia; and E. T. Williams, warden of Rhodes House, Oxford.

Sir Patrick, best known outside the UK for his memorable conduct of the 1957 trial of Dr. John Bodkin Adams, accused (but acquitted) of drugging aged patients to obtain legacies, transformed that potentially-tawdry hearing into a classic example of trial by jury. This was a labor of love, for Devlin devoutly believes that the jury trial is "the greatest device ever created to protect the individual from executive tyranny."

Although Justice Devlin has consistently steered a course clear of politics, his private life is along distinctly conservative lines. A Roman Catholic, he studied at Stoneyhurst College and Cambridge, and then enjoyed a progressively more rewarding private law practice until 1948, when he was appointed to the High Court at 42.

He is a country squire with a 500-acre estate; is a member of that Tory stronghold, the Carlton Club; reads primarily the *Times*; and is married to the daughter of the late diamond magnate, Sir Bernard Oppenheimer.

The London *Times*, which described the Devlin group as "just about the most authoritative and most independent type of commission conceivable," summed up Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd's dilemma in countering the commission's devastating report as follows:

"He could have attacked politicians; he cannot safely attack Mr. Justice Devlin and his colleagues. He could have said that a Parliamentary Commission lacked experience and expertness; he cannot say that about a commission of independents that he and his Government chose. He could have hoped that the public outside would make some allowance as a counterweight against the judgments of a political commission, on the grounds that some of what they said might be part of the political game. But he cannot hope, as an involved politician, as a Minister in a tight corner, to have any advantage of authority in rebutting the judgments of four independent voices speaking as one."

such that [Nyasaland's Africans] are satisfied that there is no intention on the part of the UK prematurely to withdraw its protection . . . if the constitutional proposals fall so far short of Congress expectations as it appears they must, then very firm guarantees of future progress will need to be given. It may even be necessary to fix a timetable for advance. In general this is a dangerous practice, but there are some cases—and Nyasaland may well be one—when it is even more dangerous not to give such assurances."

Eventual Banda Release Seen

Meanwhile, however, the Government will be working on another timetable. Between now and the elections, the object will be to keep a tight security rein on Nyasaland while meanwhile conveying sufficient sense of forward movement to avoid any new crisis over its Central African policies. Any basic policy changes contemplated will be soft-pedaled, however, to avoid an implicit admission of past errors during this delicate pre-election period.

By early next year, however, pres-

sure for a timetable and recognition of the Congress Party will be strong. The vagueness of present policy is the cause of much of the African frustration and moderate Africans will make a strong case for a timetable on the grounds that it offers a protection against extremist domination of the nationalist movement. Some observers predict that the most likely 1960 development—whichever party wins in the British elections—is a compromise agreement containing a timetable for internal self-government, i.e., the stage before independence now enjoyed by Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Under this arrangement, Africans would carry full responsibility but would be surrounded and supported by qualified European advisors selected for their dedication to the proposition of African success. In such a state, it follows logically, Dr. Banda and his colleagues would almost certainly have to be freed: where, one muses, would that leave the hand-picked Mr. Chirwa?

There is every evidence that the Devlin Commission has set in motion far more fundamental changes than anyone in authority yet dares admit.

Rhodesian Panel Charges African Overthrow Plot

African political prisoners in Southern Rhodesia appear to face a long period of internment, in view of a report published August 12 by a Southern Rhodesian tribunal. The tribunal charged that African political organizations in all three territories of the Rhodesian Federation had been working together to bring about the overthrow of the Government by violence. The three-member tribunal was set up to review only the cases of some 100 Southern Rhodesian Africans who have remained in detention since a declaration of emergency in the colony Feb. 26, but its findings carried much broader implications.

The tribunal said that reliable secret evidence showed a "close relationship" between African Congresses in the three territories, and that there were plans for coordinated violence, plus a general strike, boycotts and the infiltration of trade unions and Government agencies to achieve African self-rule. Plans to overthrow the Federation Government were still in the discussion stage when Congress leaders were interned, a report added. The tribunal said the "coordinated use of violence to dissipate security forces was a prominent feature of these discussions."

Taking what it termed "a different view" of Nyasaland leader Dr. Hastings Banda from that held by the British Devlin commission, the tribunal denounced Banda as "a wholly unreliable witness." The tribunal, set up by the Southern Rhodesia Government, has no jurisdiction over Dr. Banda's case, but interviewed him in Gwelo jail on the question of inter-territorial coordination of Congress activities.

Dr. Banda was largely vindicated by the Devlin commission, which also took note of the fact that organized violence resulted in Nyasaland when Africans were given no opportunity to achieve their objectives through constitutional channels.

The Southern Rhodesia tribunal is composed of Thomas H. W. Beadle, acting Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia, Francis F. Roberts, senior magistrate of the colony, and Sidney C. Parker, senior provincial native commissioner. In view of the findings, observers in Salisbury reportedly expect the tribunal's report to be used in forthcoming deliberations on the Federation's constitution, as a counterbalance to the Devlin report and to support European contentions that African leaders are politically dangerous and irresponsible.

Nigeria Impresses U.S. Trade Mission

Three American businessmen and the Director of the U.S. Commerce Department's Near Eastern and African Division have returned from a six weeks' trade mission to Nigeria with the verdict that this vast West African country, slated for independence in 1960, offers an investment climate unequalled in any underdeveloped area so far studied. In the course of the tour, the first of its kind in West Africa, the mission members met with over 500 Nigerian businessmen and officials in 15 urban areas to explore in practical, down-to-earth terms the opportunities for increasing trade between the United States and Nigeria as well as for investment.

Addressing a news conference in New York on July 28, one member of the trade delegation—Bradley Murray, senior research analyst with Scudder, Stevens, and Clark, New York investment counsellors—said there was both a strong desire for American investment and a broad range of immediate and long-range opportunities in Nigeria. The manufacture of consumer goods offers the most obvious opportunity for quick returns, Mr. Murray observed, citing an ice cream business in Lagos, Ibadan, Port Harcourt, and some other urban centers as one sure-fire possibility. Longer-range opportunities also lie chiefly in the processing of

Nigeria's impressive natural resources.

Leading the trade mission was Herbert J. Cummings, Director of the Near Eastern and African Division, U.S. Department of Commerce. Other trade mission members were Charles J. Miller, professor of marketing and executive officer in the department of marketing, transportation and foreign trade at the University of Washington, Seattle, and author of numerous books and articles on market research; and Lorimer Milton, president of the Citizens Trust Co. of Atlanta, Georgia, chairman of the Board of Trustees of Howard University, director of the Graduate School, University of Atlanta, and presidentially appointed member of the committee for the White House Conference on Education.

"The country is endowed," reports the *Foreign Commerce Weekly* in its official summary of the mission's findings, "with substantial natural resources including minerals, gas, petroleum, coal, water and potential water power, agricultural lands, forests, fish, and some 35,000,000 friendly, independent-minded, aggressive people. They make major contributions to the world market supplies of groundnuts and groundnut oil, palm oil and palm kernels, cotton, cocoa, forest products, rubber, and bananas." Industries especially recommended for outside investment are textiles, brewing, fishing and fish processing, shoe manufacture, meat processing, automotive and bicycle tires, match manufacture, and possibly paper making.

Nigerian Government leaders made it clear to the mission that every possible facility and protection will continue to be afforded to foreign capital when Nigeria becomes independent next year. Moreover, the growing strength of sterling currencies, of which the Nigerian currency is one, is also seen as an important boon to economic relationships between the two nations.

Meanwhile, in London, Nigeria's Minister of Finance has made a bid for American loan assistance to aid in the development of an independent Nigeria. Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, announcing a new \$43,000,000 British loan for developmental purposes, expressed the hope that the United States and other "friends in the West" might help fill the relatively small remaining gap in Nigeria's current development budget. He said he was disappointed at the small amount of assistance which the United States had so far given towards development in Africa compared with the assistance it was giving to European and Middle Eastern countries. "It sometimes seems to us," Chief Okotie-Eboh observed, "that U. S. interest in Africa is directed more towards purposes of moral propaganda than to help of a practical kind."

ECONOMIC NOTES

SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE BOYCOTT IMPACT STUDIED

Recent surveys of the probable effects of the boycotts against South African goods declared by trade unions in Ghana, Kenya, and Jamaica indicate that these boycotts will not drastically affect the country's economy, but that they could seriously affect the highly-competitive food processing industry. In 1958, South Africa exported goods valued at nearly \$3,000,000 to Ghana and at nearly \$10,000,000 to Kenya, chiefly canned fruit and jam, canned and frozen fish, fresh fruit, poultry and eggs, and clothing. While most of the sales to Kenya are to whites, an effective trade union ban could render it impossible to get the shipments ashore. Ironically, the personnel whose jobs will be most seriously affected if the boycotts should force any cutback in South Africa's light secondary industries are almost entirely non-white.

SUDAN COTTON SALES HIT ALL-TIME PEAK

The Sudanese Government's reluctant decision, earlier this year, to abolish reserve prices on the country's worrisome backlog of cotton has resulted in a dramatic upswing in sales. Approximately 718,000 bales, including the 1957 and 1958 carryover, had been marketed by the middle of June, the largest sales of cotton in the Sudan's history for any single year. Lower-than normal prices, however, prevented the income from reaching a record figure.

A total of 455,160 bales of 1959 cotton had been sold by June 15, leaving about 200,000 bales of this year's crop yet to be marketed. Cotton buyers estimated that the balance would be disposed of by August. Total foreign exchange earnings from cotton are expected to reach over \$80,000,000 this year, and good sales are also being recorded in the Sudan's other agricultural industries. Indications are, therefore, that the country's critical balance of payments position will show a decided improvement in 1959.

The official opening in July of the Manaql Canal system near the Sennar Dam on the Blue Nile is also regarded as an important economic milestone in the Sudan. Its completion means that it will now be possible to bring 600,000 additional acres of desert gradually under cultivation; sowing has already begun on the 200,000 acres to be planted to cotton and corn this year. The Manaql Canal, involving removal of almost 30,000,000 cubic meters of earth, was built by two West German firms in less than 20 months. It was tested earlier this year, but its actual filling date came after July 1 to conform with the regulations concerning seasonal use laid down in the 1929 Nile Waters Agreement.

TANGANYIKA'S AFRICANS WILL WELCOME FOREIGN INVESTORS

"Self-government does not, to us, mean self-sufficiency," Julius Nyerere, leader of the Tanganyika African National Union, told a press conference in London on August 7 called for the purpose of "allaying the fears of foreign businessmen that an independent or self-governing Tanganyika would not be a safe place in which to invest their capital." "We are impatient to govern ourselves," Nyerere said, "but we are aware of the things we lack. We do not have sufficient technical know-how in our country. We have got to get this know-how, and we have got to get it from the outside world." He also pointed out that Tanganyika lacked sufficient indigenous capital to exploit its resources, and that African leaders recognized that they would have to go out to seek more capital and to make it easier for capital to come in.

Minorities Pose Threat To West African Unity

By K. GYASI-TWUM

(Second of Two Articles)

WHEN THE BOUNDARIES of the various countries in West Africa were drawn during the last century and at the beginning of the present century, a most momentous step towards creating self-contained national entities was taken. But a most dangerous and explosive situation was also created, for the definition of these boundaries brought under one flag and under one administration a medley of clans, tribes, social systems, religions, languages and peoples who under normal circumstances would have worked more in conflict than in harmony.

In Nigeria this position was aggravated in 1953 by the division of the country between North, East and West. So long as the artificial adhesive which bound them together—that is the colonial government—remained intact there could be no fear of these incongruous parts falling apart, for there were always the national police to quell riots and the national courts to administer justice to those who sought to contravene the laws of the society. Besides, there could be no fear on the part of the minority groups of majority groups maltreating them.

But as soon as there were prospects of this artificial adhesive giving way, and thus making it possible for the more powerful and more numerous groups in the community to lord it over the less powerful groups, legitimate fears were bound to be aroused.

Thus has arisen the problem of minorities in West Africa, a problem which on account of its difficulty is bound to try the patience of West African politicians for a long time to come. This problem is the same in its implications for the future, whether it be the position of the Creoles in Sierra Leone, or of the Yoruba-speaking tribes in Northern Nigeria, or of the Edo-speaking tribes in Western Nigeria, or of the Efiks and Ibibios in Eastern Nigeria. The question is how can the fears of these minorities be allayed?

One important safeguard is to en-

sure the establishment of a competent independent judiciary which would be the bulwark of minorities against unfair treatment at the hands of the majority. Such a judiciary will ensure that minority rights are not trampled over and that every citizen has the right of access to the Courts.

Need for Good Will

But the establishment of such a Judiciary is itself a matter for the Constitution, and so also is the question of the rights to be watched over by the Judiciary. Clauses concerning the establishment of an independent Judiciary dispensing justice efficiently and impartially to all citizens may be written into the Constitution. Also to be entrenched in the Constitution might be clauses guaranteeing to all individuals the fundamental human rights—freedom of association, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom from arbitrary arrest, freedom from inhuman treatment, etc., without which the mere establishment of an independent judiciary could achieve little.

Unfortunately, it has been the experience in West Africa that the entrenchment of such clauses in the constitution is not sufficient. Experience has shown that constitutions are not sacrosanct; that one can accept a constitution which one considers unsuitable in order to gain one's objective of self-government, but that

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once the objective has been achieved the constitution can be revised to suit the party in power.

If the constitution itself can be made so flexible there seems to be no reason why any clauses entrenched in it, including those safeguarding fundamental human rights and the establishment of a competent independent judiciary, cannot be altered to suit the wishes of the majority, to the prejudice of the minority. Written constitutions can therefore become mere toys in the hands of ambitious and powerful politicians, and they cannot by themselves be regarded as a sufficient guarantee for minorities.

More important than written constitutions, which are inevitably "mere scraps of paper," is good will on the part of those who have the privilege of ruling. Unless our politicians have the good will of all the peoples in their country at heart, whether or not they belong to the majority, there can be very little hope for minorities in West Africa.

Obstacles to Unity

Such minorities, if they live in a particular part of the country and are ethnically different from other groups, might give rise to another problem, the problem of national unity.

I have already called attention to the way in which British colonization of West Africa has acted as an artificial adhesive in welding and keeping together a large number of peoples with different backgrounds and different traditions. Although it may go against our nationalist feelings to admit it, there is a considerable amount of truth in Chief Awolowo's statement, "Nigeria is the creation of Britain." But so also is Ghana, so is Sierra Leone, and so is the Gambia.

With the approach of self-government and the consequent gradual loosening of the adhesive, the urge to pull oneself out of the mass becomes very great. In Nigeria, where this urge was naturally greatest owing to the vast differences and the bitter rivalries among the three major tribal or linguistic groups, this separatist movement has been at work more than anywhere else. It seemed clearly evident after 1951 that a Nigeria unified under a single national government was bound to be more of an abomination than of a blessing to its peoples. National unity could only be obtained through disunity, that is, through a Federal system of government which enabled these various groups to exercise a certain amount of sovereignty and to order things in their own way in their various areas.

Question of Regional Powers

But even when the Federal solution was accepted, there were still the detailed problems to solve—what power should be allowed the central (federal) as against the regional governments? Should it be a strong or a weak center? What relations should exist between the regions? What should be the fiscal rights and juris-

dictions of the various governments? And so on. These were all problems whose solution required the greatest amount of tact and good will on the part of the leaders who took part in the discussions. The various Commissions and Constitutional Conferences in London and Lagos have had as their objective the erection of a constitution which would satisfy all groups, and all this in the interest of national unity.

In Ghana, the problem of national unity has perhaps been less intractable than it has been in the case of Nigeria. Yet there was a time, up to 1957, when the country was a hot-bed of controversy as to whether a unitary or a federal form of government should be adopted. Regional differences which were perhaps not as great as in the case of Nigeria were exploited by politicians wishing to curb the powers of the central government. The smallness of the country, the absence of very serious linguistic barriers as well as the vehement opposition to regionalization on the part of the leadership of the government party, have all worked to tone down to a considerable degree the demand for a federal constitution. The result has been that the four territories in Ghana which up to 1946 were administered as separate political entities have now been welded into a reasonably cohesive national group. In Ghana national unity seems to have come to stay.

Sierra Leone Cited

In Sierra Leone the problem of national unity is still an active one, and it becomes more topical daily as the country moves nearer self-government. Here there has been very little support for the federal solution. In fact it seems to have originated and died with only one person, the late Hon. Bankole-Bright, although he might have found some support within the ranks of the Settlers' Descendants Union. In any case the idea was that the Colony which was bought and presented to the freed slaves and their descendants in the 18th century, and confirmed early in the 19th century, should form a regional government. The Protectorate which was formed in 1898 from a number of native chiefdoms was to form the other regional government.

The problem here is that the Colony-born regard themselves as strangers in a foreign land, where they have been settled through the generosity of kind-hearted friends and have enjoyed the protection for generations of Imperial Britain. Now that Britain is about to leave these parts of the world to the indigenous inhabitants, there is a genuine feeling among the colony-born that government manned and controlled by Protectorate elements can never be fair to them and that it might in fact constitute a threat to the liberty they have enjoyed so long and a danger to their personal safety.

Three suggestions have been made in connection with the solution of the problem in Sierra Leone:

1) that the only real safeguard to the Colony-born lies in delaying self-government as long as possible, thus postponing the day of total Protectorate domination of the Colony;

2) that any future constitution should guarantee an independent judiciary;

3) that a citizenship law should be promulgated which will remove the legal distinction between Colony and Protectorate and make everyone a citizen of Sierra Leone.

These three suggestions either singly or collectively do not constitute, in my view, a satisfactory solution of the problem. The first is a negative solution, the second, as I have said already, is a doubtful solution, while the third, insofar as it cannot change the mental attitude of the people, might achieve little.

A possible solution to the problem (apart from free intermarriage which might take a long time to yield fruit) might be, following the example of Nigeria, to declare the Colony in the constitution as a Minority Area, and establish for it a special Council containing representatives of the Area, whose main function will be to foster the well-being, cultural advancement and economic and social development of the Area.

Possibilities for Unity

It is thus evident that the problem of national unity is one that would remain with us for some time—that is, until we come to think of ourselves as Nigerians, Ghanaians, Sierra Leoneans first and as Yorubas, Ibos, Hausas, Ashantis, Creoles and Mendes only second.

The problem of minorities is one of the major problems that faces West African countries as with the achievement of independence they move from colonial status to national sovereignty. It may diminish as we seek after independence to measure ourselves—our countries—against other countries, for the emphasis may then change from tribal unity to national solidarity. It is possible that with the gradual movement towards establishing a Federation of West African States, the problem of minorities will fade away in the face of more important considerations, and that instead of seeking to oppress minorities in their areas, political leaders will try to entice them as a means of securing the votes which will enable them to gain political ascendancy at the Federal level. The important thing, however, is that in the meantime the problem remains with us and should be kept constantly in the forefront of the minds of those who wish to see established in West Africa liberal-minded national governments which abhor oppression in any form and whose main aim is the achievement for their peoples of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

Cornell Educator Visits South Africa

Clinton Rossiter, Chairman of the Department of Government at Cornell University, is lecturing at six South African universities this summer under the auspices of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program of the African-American Institute. Dr. Rossiter arrived in South Africa August 8, accompanied by Mrs. Rossiter. His lectures in the Union cover federalism, the Presidency, constitutional problems and the present political situation in the United States.

Dr. Rossiter is author of *Seedtime of the Republic*, *Conservatism in America*, *The American Presidency* and other publications. He is a consultant to the Fund for the Republic and the Rockefeller Foundation.

The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, established in 1958 to strengthen the lines of intellectual communication between South African and American professional, business and civic leaders, expects to exchange 24 couples in 1959 and 1960, according to Frank S. Loescher, director of the program. The program is supported by the contributions of American and South African foundations, corporations and individuals.

"Africa Special Report" is published by the African-American Institute, a private, non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia and devoted to establishing closer bonds between the peoples of Africa and the United States. Other activities of the Institute include scholarship programs, teacher placement in Africa, and a variety of lecture, information and visitor services.

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'Crossroads' Project Planned for 1960

A summer workshop program will take 150 students and group leaders to Africa from all over the United States and Canada next year in a new "Crossroads Africa" project organized by the Rev. James H. Robinson of New York. As the result of last year's successful pilot operation in West Africa (see *Africa Special Report*, July 1958), Crossroads Africa projects are being formed for the next three summers. The 1960 project will again be held in West Africa, and in the following two summers projects are planned for East and Central Africa. Each project will be made up of American students working with African students in building schools, water supply systems, and similar community projects.

Describing the program, Rev. Robinson said "Crossroads Africa is neither a tourist trip nor a safari, although these have their place in our world." The objectives of Crossroads Africa outlined by Rev. Robinson are:

- to relate young people of high leadership potential of the North

American and African continents in constructive and creative ways,

- to help prepare them for the future leadership which will be necessary as the relationships between the two areas expand,
- to give evidence of our serious interest in democratic developments as new African millions search for freedom and world relatedness,
- to enlarge the vision and understanding of Americans through the efforts of the participants after they return.

The 1960 Crossroads operation will be divided into twelve groups, each concentrating in a different country of West Africa. Although scholarship assistance is available, no student is taken on a full scholarship. Each must be interested enough either to pay or to raise a part of the cost.

Crossroads Africa includes students "who represent a cross section of the religious, racial and ethnic groups of the United States," explained Rev. Robinson, and "only the most dedicated, tough-minded students of proven leadership ability, with good scholastic records, who can relate in creative ways to people of other cultures and races, endure hard traveling and primitive living, and are willing to combine work at laborious tasks with serious study in seminars are accepted for the opportunity."

Each participant must agree to seek at least one opportunity a week for a year to tell of his experience. As a result, Rev. Robinson said, last year's Crossroads project produced an astounding number of talks, television

programs, panel discussions, radio interviews, and newspaper articles by students and project leaders after their return. "The efforts of these young people have built more than a bridge of words and ideas, because their talks have inspired over 30 African-aid projects on the part of Americans," said Rev. Robinson. Several textbook collection schemes for African schools are in progress. Six high school and five college scholarship programs have been initiated to help African students. Other projects include the sending of medical supplies for hospitals and maternity clinics, equipment for schools, clothing for village children and funds for self-help projects.

Rev. Robinson is assisted as executive director of Crossroads Africa by Rabbi Israel Mowshowitz, associate director. Judge Edward Dudley, former U. S. Ambassador to Liberia, is chairman of the board of directors. National honorary co-chairmen are Congressman Chester Bowles, former U. S. Ambassador to India; Lansdell Christie, president of Liberia Mining Co.; Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University; Associate Justice William O. Douglas, U. S. Supreme Court; and Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University.

Mail Bag

To the Editor:

I should be grateful if you would give me the opportunity to correct a misstatement of fact which appeared in the May 1959 issue of your publication.

On page 14 ["Chapman Calls for Educational Advance"—Ed.] an excerpt reads:

For Africans in the whole of the Central African Federation, secondary facilities appear to exist in only two institutions—the Munal Secondary School in Northern Rhodesia and the Gomoronzi Secondary School in Southern Rhodesia.

The position, however, is as follows: African education in all three territories of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is the responsibility of the Territorial or state Governments and according to the latest official reports there are in each territory the following facilities for African secondary education:

Nyasaland:

- 10 Junior Secondary Schools
- 3 Full Secondary Schools
- 10 Teacher Training Courses

Northern Rhodesia:

- 17 Secondary Schools
- 15 Teacher Training Courses

Southern Rhodesia:

- 23 Secondary Schools
- 47 Teacher Training Courses

Yours faithfully,
R. B. N. Wetmore
Counsellor for Rhodesia
and Nyasaland Affairs

New Ambassadors



EL-HADARI



MATHEWS

Dr. Osman el-Hadari has arrived in Washington, D. C., to take up his post as the Sudan's second Ambassador to the United States. He succeeds Dr. Ibrahim Anis who retired in January. Since the independence of the Sudan in January 1957, Dr. el-Hadari has served as his country's Ambassador to Pakistan. Formerly a practicing physician in Wad Medani, Sudan, the Ambassador studied at Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum and received his medical degree at Alexandria University in Egypt. He is married and has five children, all boys.

Mr. Elbert G. Mathews has been appointed U.S. Ambassador to Liberia. A career officer in the U.S. Foreign Service since 1935, Mr. Mathews served most recently as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Policy Planning. His previous assignments include posts in British Columbia, Australia, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, India, and Turkey, where he was Consul General at Istanbul.

Publications

Africa Disturbed (by Emory and Myrta Ross, Friendship Press: New York, 1959; 183 pages, \$3.50 hardcover, \$1.95 paperback) was written after the missionary authors revisited Africa, where they interviewed and posed questions to scores of Africans from all walks of life. "So much is written about Africans from the Westerners point of view. If you really report what we say about ourselves we will be glad," one African told them. This book restates the reaction to questions on family problems, political developments, changing economics, communications, the arts and religion. Dr. Ross, executive secretary of the African Committee of the National Council of Churches and President of the Board of Trustees of the African-American Institute, formerly served as a missionary in Liberia and the Belgian Congo and has written and lectured extensively about Africa.

U.S. Families Play Host to Nigerian Group

Nigerian participants in the Experiment in International Living have arrived in the United States for a two-month program that includes four weeks of living with American families in Poughkeepsie, New York, and visits to New York City, Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia. The group of 7 Nigerians, who were chosen by the Nigerian Experiment Committee from some 500 applicants, are: Samuel A. Adebajo, Western Region, entering Howard University School of Pharmacy this fall; Kehinde Adeosun, Western Region, on the staff of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation; Mallam Abdullah Ahmed Agono, clerk at the Northern Ministry of Works; Gabriel Tambe Obenson, Southern Cameroons, student at Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology at Enugu; Michael Adeniran Olajide, Senior Social Development Officer in the Ministry of Adult Education Program, and his wife, Cecilia Malomo Olajide, tour leaders; and Mrs. Beatrice Nkemdilim Onyeador, elementary school headmistress.

The following specialists in radio and television are in the U.S. under the auspices of the International Educational Exchange Service, U.S. Department of State, to participate in a workshop seminar sponsored by the University of Southern California, which includes working for several weeks on a radio or television station in the U.S.:

NIGERIA: Otong Udo Akpaibo, program assistant in presentation, Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation, Moody Ekundayo Oyelude, program assistant and religious broadcasting assistant, Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation.

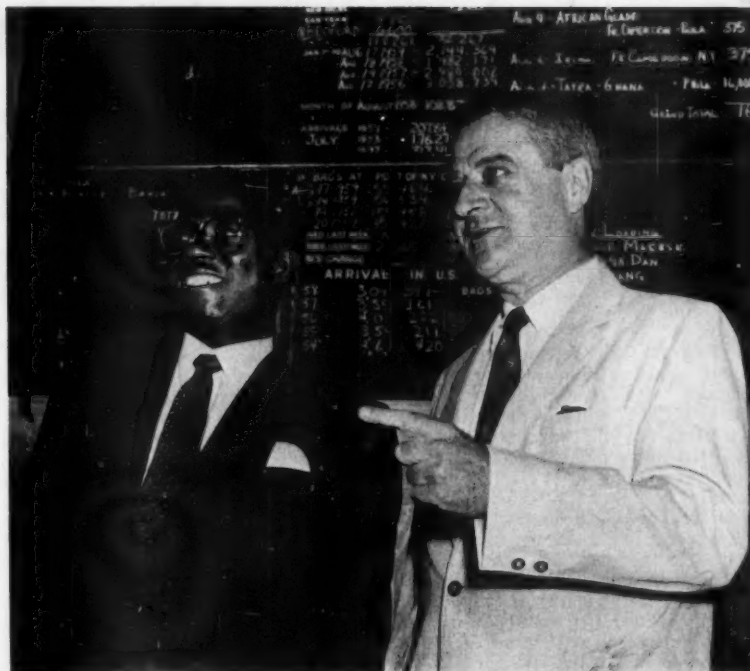
NORTHERN RHODESIA: Alick Todd Best Nkhata, program producer, Federal Broadcasting Corporation.

Also in the U.S. under the auspices of the International Educational Exchange Service, unless otherwise indicated, are:

ETHIOPIA: Haile Bera, Member of Parliament.

KENYA: Robert Lindsay, Chief Press Officer of the Kenya Government, in the U.S. with his wife on a personal visit.

LIBERIA: Nathaniel Massaquoi, Minister of Public Instruction; Florence Eudora Ricks-Bing, head teacher, elementary division, Sinoe Government School.



Maurey Garber

GHANA Minister of Commerce and Industry Patrick K. K. Quaidoo (left) tours the New York Cocoa Exchange with Exchange President J. E. Stonington during Mr. Quaidoo's two-week, private visit to the United States this month.

Education Commission Formed

Delegates to a conference of world teachers' organizations voted to establish a permanent Commission on Educational Policy for Africa at an August meeting in Washington, D. C. The occasion was the 8th Annual Assembly of Delegates of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP).

The permanent Africa Commission, established under WCOTP auspices, will include 20 members, of which a "clear majority" are to be African, selected "primarily on the basis of exceptional professional competence, but also with regard to satisfactory representation of regional and cultural areas and interests."

The main task of the Commission is to consider and offer suggestions for the solution of African educational problems such as:

- recruitment of teachers, including salary and conditions of work;
- teacher education;
- the development of truly professional organizations of teachers;
- the prompt and effective interchange of information regarding

resources, both within and without Africa, that might be tapped and coordinated in the interest of educational improvements;

- the teaching of languages.

The Commission, whose members will be announced by WCOTP at a later date, will have permanent headquarters in Africa. Its first meeting will be held early next year in Africa, the details of which are to be announced. The Committee will also meet concurrently with the WCOTP regional meeting in Uganda next spring.

The WCOTP is an international association of over 150 teachers' groups from 62 countries throughout the world. Its main purposes are to improve teaching methods and training and to promote the teaching profession in the countries represented in its membership. At the present time, WCOTP includes in its organization African teachers' groups from Gambia, Ghana, Ethiopia, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika and Uganda.

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